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AUTHOR Colletta, Nat J.
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ABSTRACT

In the fall of 1974, I was invited to serve as a consultant to the Indonesian effort to develop a National Strategy for Non-Formal Education. The brunt of my effort concerned action research for developing and testing an empirical "Community Learning System" designed to link local learning needs with the management-resource-learning system. Field investigations quickly determined that resources were being brought to bear in a diffuse, often redundant, fashion and at differential levels of efficiency and effectiveness. An emergent research design incorporated villagers in the municipality of Ujung Pandang articulating their own learning needs and identifying the resources at their disposal. Contact with local governmental officials determined that village organization could not be carried out without their participation, hence they were included in the resource identification stage of the field effort. The meeting for identifying village resources was a stunning success with the participants themselves being amazed by the breadth of their own resources. Although we were gratified by the group's response to our effort, there was the lingering question of how much of the group's participation was autonomously generated and how much it merely reflected their sensitivity to what we were attempting to have the participants do. (Author/JR)

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Participatory Research or Participation Put-on: Reflections on the Research Phase of an Indonesian Experiment in Non-Formal Education

by

Nat J. Colletta

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Participatory Research or Participation

Put-on: Reflections on the Research Phase of an

Indonesian Experiment in Non-Formal Education

by

Nat J. Colletta

Introduction

Out of every 100 children entering primary school in Indonesia today approximately 47 can be expected to complete six grades. There are an estimated 33 million Indonesians over the age of 10 years who have never reached any school and another 26.5 million who left school before completing the primary level.[1] Dropouts and those who have never attended school now form a majority of youth who have little chance for further formal education and training.

The Second Five Year Plan (Repelita II, 1974-79) projects that approximately 80-85% of children 7-12 years old will be accommodated in Primary schools by 1980.[2] This plan is being implemented by a massive primary school construction program directed by Presidential Instruction (Inpres). However, even if this target is met the 15-20% not accommodated by the expansion program would still represent some five million children without access to formal schooling.

In addition to the number of school age youth who do not have access to the formal school system many others, inclucing subsistence farmers, rural women, and unemployed young adults, constitute important populations in need of further education and training. Approximately 82% of Indonesia's population resides in the rural areas, 83% of whom are engaged in farming which accounts for less than half of the gross domestic product (42.9%). Ninety (90%) percent of these Indonesians have never attended school and only 75% of those who have attended have completed six grades. The National literacy rate was recorded in 1971 at 60 percent. This figure was higher for males (71%) than for females (49%) and lower for rural (55%)

than for urban (79%) areas.[3]

The Indonesian Government has identified the following populations as being in priority need of expanded educational and training opportunities:[4]

1. School-aged children who do not have the opportunity to enter any kind of formal school program.

2. Dropouts from various levels of the formal school program.

3. Those youth who have already terminated at some level of formal education but still need additional knowledge and/or skills in order to function more productively in the nation's development.

4. Those adults who need additional knowledge, skills, and attitudes requisite to improving the general quality of their life as well as contributing to the nation's development.

Increased educational opportunity for these people could contribute to the general quality of their lives by promoting their ability to better identify and articulate their needs, assess and mobilize existing resources, and understand, "demand", and use government services such as health care, agricultural extension and basic education.

In accordance with Article 31 section 1 of the 1945 Indonesian Constitution it is felt that "each citizen has the right to an education." In recognition of both the qualitative problem and budgetary constraints in providing universal free public education, the Government of Indonesia has decided to embark on developing systems of out of school (Non-Formal) education that would constitute alternative delivery systems of mass education for youth and adults, thereby supplying educational opportunity to those outside the reach of the traditional school system and/or are in need of a different educational content than the formal school provides.

The inability of the formal education sector to "quantitatively" meet the learning needs of the large numbers of the Indonesian population is but one area

to which the development of alternate systems of mass education might direct itself. There has been much attention drawn to the "qualitative" limitations of the formal school model in its ability to perform all educational functions, especially those related to the rural environment.[5] The dual challenge that faces Indonesian educators is how to identify learning needs of prospective learners outside the formal school system, and how to mobilize non-school learning resources to meet these needs in a cost efficient and effective manner.

In an effort to fulfill the political promise of the Constitution to provide quality education to the masses of Indonesia, the Minister of Education and Culture has charged the Office of Educational Research and Development with the task of developing a National Strategy for Non-Formal Education which would then be implemented under the auspices of the Division of Out-of-School Education and Sports.

SKBM: A Community Learning System

In the Fall of 1974 the Indonesian Government, through the Office of Educational Research and Development, invited me to serve as a consultant in Non-Formal Education. The United States Agency for International Development agreed to fund my stay with the intention that my work would lead to a project in Non-Formal Education which they might support.

Although the broad scope in which I was to work included assessment, experimentation, training, and policy planning, the brunt of my effort fell on the area of "action-research", or an integration of experimentation and assessment. This emphasis resulted from the frustration and inadequacy of our early efforts to develop an abstract National Strategy without reference to the realities of the village. In a change of approach we moved our efforts to the field hypothesizing that National Strategy, or strategies, would inductively emerge.

In the field, we found a wealth of existing community resources: government out-reach programs in agriculture, health, family planning, skill training, and

basic education; indigenous, quasi-government (voluntary) and government institutions ranging from womens groups to scouting movements and cooperatives; and many talented people: from local artisans, entertainers, and religious leaders to teachers, health workers, and agricultural extension agents. We also found that there was little coordination of efforts among this vast array of potential resources. In fact, groups frequently worked at cross purposes to one another. This was particularly true of external resource efforts i.e., government extension, when applied to the village context. Many of the external efforts were based on preconceived notions of what the constituents "wanted" or "needed" as determined in distant Jakarta. It was soon apparent that there was seldom a direct link between the villager's needs and subsequent development programs. Finally, it became evident that the general "development" perspective was fundamentally false. Instead of seeing the community as a "web" of interrelated problems, concerns, and solutions, a fragmented outlook prevailed in which problems were isolated and attacked as if there was no connective tissue in the human experience i.e., skill training without access to tools nor consideration of actual market demands; increased food production without concern for population limitation; literacy programs without sufficient reading material or functional use; irrigation construction without proper access to credit, fertilizer, new variety seeds, or extension advice.

In short, resources were being brought to bear in a difuse often redundant fashion, and at differential levels of efficiency and effectiveness. In many instances programs which were launched by the central government frequently had little to do with the educational needs and demands of the very people they purported to serve. All to often the ease in constructing, packaging and administering bureaucratically homogenous solutions in Jakarta led to dismal failure when they reached the diverse needs of heterogenous locally-based populations. By

compartmentalizing the treatment of human concerns into neat bureaucratic departments develop agents structurally insured a fragmented view of life through the daily treatment of those concerns as if they had no interconnection with one another.

Moreover, not only was there a blatant lack of concern for village level input into the design of external development programs, but there was seldom any hard evaluative data and constructive feedback for the effective improvement of such development efforts. When an evaluative dimension did exist it was usually of a nebulous ex-post-facto nature with a diminished critical perspective.[6]

These observations of the deficiencies of development efforts led to the design of a major experiment in Non-Formal Education. From this experiment, the Office of Educational Research and Development hopes to draw lessons for the development of National Policy and Planning. The experiment falls into the category of "action-research" in which we intend to innovate, effect changes, observe and evaluate our efforts. The primary theme is the development and testing of an emperical model of a "Community Learning System". The community learning system is fundamentally a network of relationships between learners (learning needs) and learning resources (human and material sources of development).

The crucial task is to mobilize and manage community learning resources into a proto-type Community Learning System which connects community-articulated learning needs to community-based learning resources in a comprehensive, integrated community education network. Central to this effort are two assumptions. One, that a "vacuum ideology" of development which views the village domain as being backward and having no viable resources is inappropriate, indeed, the community itself possesses a large portion of the resource base needed for its own development. Development should be a natural outgrowth from existing human and natural resources.[7]

Two, that "abstract" bureaucratic standardization and compartmentalization is dysfunctional in confronting the "real" diversity and intertwining complexity of human existence. Development to a large extent depends upon the ability to see human problems and possible solutions as a "gestalt"... many pieces of a human puzzle whose basic fit is such that no one piece is totally meaningful in and of itself. It is the "whole" which gives meaning to its "parts" i.e., crop diversification (production) is related to family planning (reproduction) to nutrition education (consumption) to effective management of resources (distribution) to open channels of communication (education) etc...[8]

It is essential that all resources of the community be identified and woven into a mutually supportive, interdependent, total learning system. An acute understanding and articulation of local needs and conditions must be directly linked to this management-resource-learning system. This necessitates community participation in unveiling needs, conditions, and resources, and in planning meaningful ongoing development activities.

The key activities of this management-resource-learning system are: (1) devising appropriate participatory research activities to insure commitment, establish priority community learning needs, identify existing community learning resources, and locate gap-filling resources; (2) translating learning needs into functional educational content with motivational appeal; (3) devising new or locating indigenous organizational strategies to get essential content out through decentralized networks. As expressed by the leadership of one very successful third world rural development scheme "...correct leadership can only be developed on the principle of from the masses to the masses."[9] This basically means gathering the views of the masses (participation), taking the results back to the masses (distribution), and explaining and popularizing them (education) until they are embraced in unison (organization), stood up for, and acted upon (actualization).

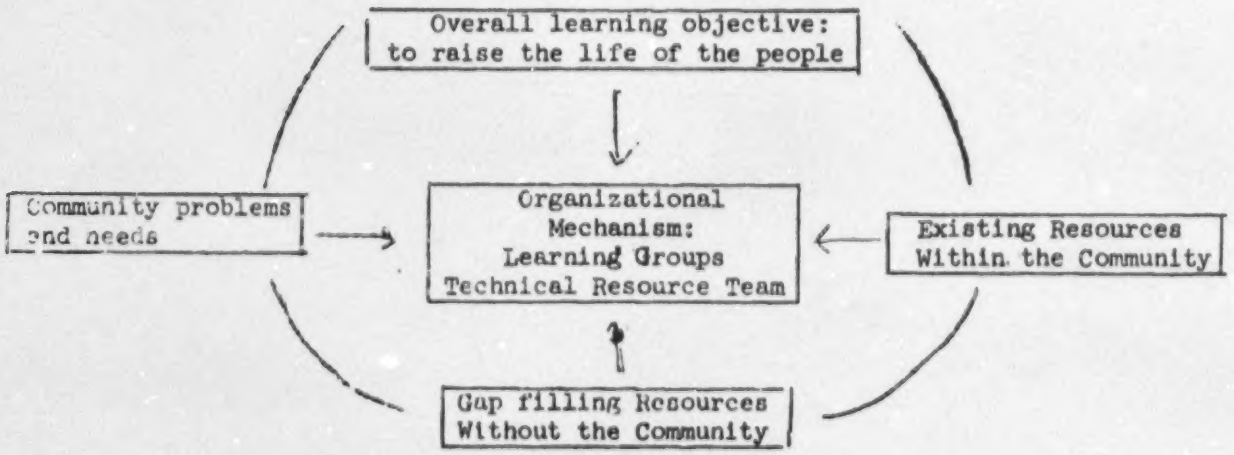
The process of creating a Community Learning System is not merely a mechanistic one of matching learning needs with learning resources. Important organizational components are district level technical resource teams interacting with clusters of indigenous learning groups in each of the surrounding villages. While the task force is composed of more formally trained persons from the region possessing technical skills in development areas such as health and agriculture, the village-based learning groups are no less potent a resource in themselves, bearing a wealth of practical knowledge for exchange.[10]

The experiment is being implemented through the following conceptual model of the key components, roles, and functions of a proto-type Community Learning System in two Indonesian sites, South Sulewesi and West Java:

Conceptual Model

of

Community Learning System Components



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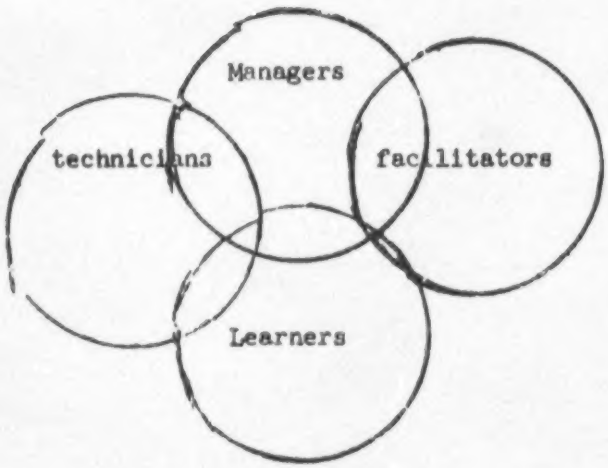
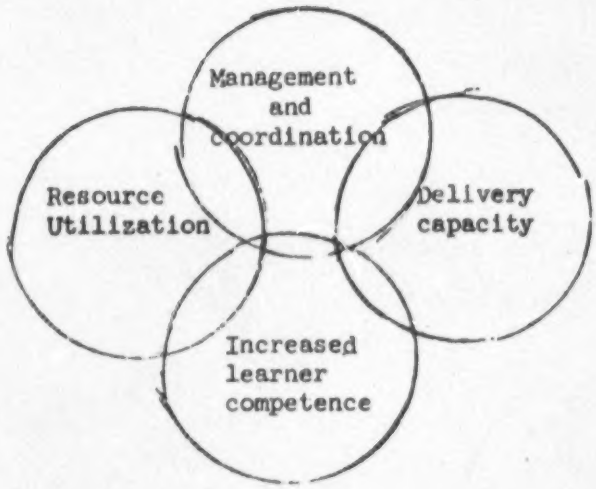
Interlocking Roles



Interlocking Functions



Now that we have established some of the background, the remainder of this paper will concentrate on the experiences encountered prior to and during the attempt to implement a participatory research strategy through a field operations seminar in the early phases of the project.

Participatory Research or Participation Put-On

The Jakarta Dialogue-

As has generally been my experience in the over-worked environment of the Office for Educational Research and Development, immediate circumstance usually takes presidence over planned action. Since my counter-part was being pressed to develop a methodological research design for identifying unused and underutilized learning resources as a basis for a regionally funded Non-Formal Education project, while we were working on the research component of the AID supported Community Learning System Project, he decided to kill two birds with one stone and concen-

trate on community resource assessment in the first phase of the AID project, enabling him to apply the results to the other project demands as well. Although the efficiency of this decision went unquestioned, the effectiveness of it led to an initial issue which was later to be resolved through our experiences. The issue centered about the nature and priority of assessing community learning resources and community learning needs. There was no giving on the priority, at least for our first field operations seminar. It was a resource assessment which was circumstancially mandated, therefore resource assessment would be the focus of our first field effort. As to the nature of the research design, that remained open for debate. The initial emphasis was on a "top down", traditional quantitative research design with pre-conceived concepts, categories and definitions for what in fact was a "learning resource", inclusive of the construction of survey instrumentation to gather data and fill predisposed conceptual categories from selected respondents (usually government officials). Our first effort in the design rooms of Jakarta resulted in more questions than answers. As we developed reams of definitions, conceptual models, and categorical headings for constructing questionnaires and analyzing data (i.e., Human resources versus material resources; Financial resources; Institutional resources; Government resources versus non-government resources etc...) we felt the burden of confusion overtaking our quest for clarity. The following basic questions high-light our debate:

What, in fact, is a learning resource?
What are meaningful parameters of definition?

How can learning resources be best identified, classified, and processed into useful information?
Is it, indeed, necessary or helpful to do this?
Or, will such an approach lead to over abstraction, thus risk the promotion of misunderstanding of the potential use of such resources?

What are the importance elements of a learning resource?
The competence or content within (eg. skill, attitude, or informational component of the resource)?
The existing and/or potential ability of the learning resource to deliver that particular competence?
And/or, the use and usefulness of the learning resource in meeting community needs and solving community problems?

How best to assess such components?
Through an objectified survey conducted by external researchers, or an emergent model focusing on the extrication of learning resources by the community members themselves through a participatory process?
Is some combination of these methodologies preferable and feasible?

Once identified and assessed, what is required to mobilize and catalyze the effective and efficient use of such resources?

Finally, can community learning resources be adequately assessed apart from their mobilization and use in a concrete setting, attempting to meet specifiec needs and problems within the framework of a particular community education strategy and development program?

The central issue in our resource assessment soon surfaced. The issue revolved around whether or not we were going to employ an externally determined traditional research design based upon preconceived theories, concepts, categories and modalities of analysis outside the villager frame of reference, or whether we were going to utilize an emergent research strategy which would concentrate on the villagers' themselves identifying resources from which categories, concepts, modality of analysis and theory would evolve?

It seemed that as we developed more sophisticated, abstract research instruments founded in Western conceptual and analytical frameworks in Jakarta, we were in fact gearing up to obtain information that may well be "objectively" gathered, analyzed etc., but in functional terms would contribute less to our understanding of the "subjective" reality in the village and the attendant creation of a functional development effort. As previously alluded to, I was earlier compelled to draft National Strategy papers based on abstract theory to be later applied to Indonesian reality. Now, I was being asked to develop categories, from pre-conceived concepts to measure reality. It all suddently came together! The process had to be conducted in reverse. Village reality as subjectively perceived would dictate development strategy upon which theory might later be constructed. If villagers could identify their own learning resources then categories and concepts would naturally emerge. The problem remained to convince my Western educated

Indonesian counter-parts that the Western research model might be fallacious. Moreover, that villagers were capable of articulating their own learning needs and identifying the resources at their disposal.

As I continued to argue for an emergent research design, my counter-part pressed for "instruments," "conceptual categories", and other "scientific" elements of a traditional research model. Finally, my challenge to give the emergent design a try through a field operations seminar in one of our project sites, South Sulewesi, was accepted when I vowed to take full responsibility.

The following assumptions formed the basis for the initial field research conducted in South Sulewesi:

1. Resource assessment, like need assessment, cannot be realized for the people, but only with their full participation. Thus, the mobilization and use of resources is inextricably tied to the mobilization and demand of the population.
2. Participation assumes that the community members have the capacity to perceive their problems, communicate their needs, and effectively organize to identify, control, and manage their own resources to solve their own problems.
3. All people are capable of self-development, if encouraged to mobilize all their potential faculties, talents, and surrounding resources. This by no means implies a one-sided approach to development. If planning and development from above is to be effective, it must be in partnership with the promotion of field-based diagnosis and planning with local participation to develop practical solutions to concrete problems.
4. No one community is expected to have all the resources necessary to solve all its problems or to meet all its needs. Therefore, an

essential part of a community learning resource assessment is the identification of resource gaps in relation to particular community needs, as well as the development of attendant strategies (i.e., district level technical resource teams) for pulling in resources from outside the community.

5. The assessment of community learning resources and needs should be a continuous process mirroring both the changing community needs (problems) and resource base.

In sum, it was decided that the research would apply the principle of an emergent design through a participatory process engaging community members and limited outside technical support staff. The process and product of this project would be blended into one activity. There would be no apriori instruments developed in the urban center and forced on the community in an attempt to assess resources. Any necessary instrumentation would come through, and/or be developed by, the participatory group dynamics of the community members as they critically assess their own resources and resource needs. The outside technical assistance will be of a facilitative rather than directive nature in providing input for group dialogue, i.e., the sharing of lessons and ideas from other (outside) efforts to assess learning resources, and generally attempting to keep the process going through summarizing and clarifying when appropriate

The Field Site-

Biringkanaya is a cluster (Kecamatan) of five villages (Desa) in the municipality (Kotamadya) of Ujung Pandang, the Province of South Sulewesi. The field site had long been designated on the basis of a number criteria, i.e., rural location, level of development, physical access, and other administrative concerns.

The total population of the Kecamatan is estimated to be approximately 26,000 inhabitants. The primary mode of subsistence is wet rice agriculture. This is supplemented by fishery activities, cottage industries, and household garden plots. It is considered to be a poverty area with a yearly per capita income of about 44 US dollars. Its location between the larger urban environment of Ujung Pandang (15km) and the neighboring Provincial airport suggest high potential for rapid development.[11]

We arrived in Ujung Pandang early in the day in order to make all necessary arrangements for our field activity in Biringkanaya. Since the project is being conducted through the Provincial Office of Education and local government this meant a succession of meetings with the Provincial Education Officer, the Mayor of the Municipality, and the head of Kecamatan Biringkanaya (Camat).

We encountered our first major obstacle from the Mayor. He had great concern over who would determine the definition of "participant" in our "participatory research" effort. In essence, who would be the participants? As we talked, it became clearer in his mind, and ours, that the definition of participation "Indonesian-style" was a bit different than what we had envisioned. Our visions were of villagers, heads of households, the "grass-roots", his was that of village officials, government employees working in the District, and even some of his staff. We finally settled on a compromise set of participants with one major stipulation that all participants come from the Kecamatan and were indeed - "insiders" with the exception of a few so called resource persons i.e., a couple of assistants from a neighboring University Community Education Department, and the outreach persons from his office and that of the Provincial Education Office. These resource people were to play a non-evaluative, non-directive, facilitative role in the field research process. It was further decided that the set of representatives from the five villages would be as follows: all five of the village headman (Lurah); at

least 10 villagers (5 male and 5 female from each village) who were members of the village elected social committees (LSDs); at least one representative from each of the government extension programs i.e., health, agriculture, community development, community education who were working in the Kecamatan; representatives from all nongovernmental organizations within the Kecamatan i.e., scouts, religious leaders, womens groups etc.; and anyone else whom the Camat deemed a formal or informal person of community respect, an opinion setter in the community.

After agreeing on the definition of participants the Mayor urged that we use his urban facilities for the seminar. We kindly refused, pointing to our desire not to isolate the process from the village. Salary for persons attending the operations seminar was also discussed (honorarium is the typical motivating force for government seminars and civil servants). Our position was again in keeping with a basic premise about social consciousness and community development, not to encourage status differentiation in the village context. Instead of providing the traditional salary for seminar participation, this would not be called a seminar but a community meeting in which the Camat would provide food and we would communally break the fast (Ramadan or Islamic fasting season) together at sundown.

As with the Provincial Education Officer, we found our presentation of ideas and discussion with the Mayor to be of a consciousness raising, educative nature, rather than a mere bureaucratic exchange of information leading to formal decisions. After a later meeting with the Camat, setting the general tenor for what was to transpire, we left him with the further task of notifying persons, making preparations for the meeting, meal etc. We were ready for Biringkanaya!

The following day we spent identifying and working with resource people from the provincial capital who would later assist us. We decided that there were at least three things that we wished to result from the field experiences: (1) proving that villagers could capably do research on their own conditions and needs if

they could become aware and in control of their own destiny (2) creating a long list, or lists, of community learning resources; and (3) the identification of village leaders to form a part of a Kecamatan level technical resource team which would later catalyze the process of learning group formation and activity throughout the villages. To accomplish the latter, each resource person was given a simple scale of 1-4 (very active, active, adequately active and passive) to rate both the frequency of individual opinion expression and the degree of individual participation of any kind.

Enter Biringkanaya - the field of operation

It was late afternoon. The days work had been completed and the participants were lingering into the dirt floor, open-walled meeting room. Makeshift tables and benches were strewn about the room with one long table, several chairs and benches, and a movable blackboard at one end of the room. The setting was simple, real, conducive to the climate of interaction we desired to eventuate. The meeting started, like all Indonesian meetings I have ever attended, with a formal speech by the Camat and appropriate introductions. The Camat did do one exceptional thing before turning the meeting over to us. He had the various members of the group, typically from key government departments (agricultural extension, community development, and community education), say a few words about Biringkanaya and their perceptions of the development problems there. Although this prelude was somewhat helpful, and indeed necessary in the Indonesian context, it did detract a bit from the note of informality and free exchange of ideas which we had wanted to instill. But we were to later nuture this through another tactic.

The Camat then turned the meeting over to my Indonesian colleague. My colleague explained why we had come, painting a picture of rural problems from illiteracy to financial difficulties, a range from which almost any member of the group

might find something to identify with. Being a devout Moslem community, my colleague frequently drew upon quotations from the Koran, providing food for thought while building personal legitimacy and interpersonal affiliation. He set the backdrop for an understanding of the community learning system by pointing to needs, problems, notions of resource utilization and organization. He continually apologized for the lecture format, saying that it was they who should and would, be doing the talking. It was then my turn to describe the model of community education which we hoped to modify and test with them. This was all done in Bahasa Indonesian and graphically illustrated on the board. Sundown was soon upon us, so we decided to break before beginning the dialogue.

After prayers and a meal the group reconvened and began discussing the ideas that had been presented earlier. Initially the discussion focused on the needs of the community. Since the plan (as stipulated in Jakarta) had been to discuss community resources we directed the forum toward that end implying that it would provide us with a clearer picture of the Kecamatan before embarking on needs and concerns. Perhaps it would have been better at this point to abandon the agenda determined in Jakarta and work with the natural flow of the meeting.

The group divided themselves into four, each segment selecting a chairman and secretary, as well as a resource person to act as a facilitator. The resource people in fact became observers as the appointed chairmen of the groups readily took over the leadership, facilitative function. Before starting, we suggested that the groups discuss three questions:

1. What resources are available in your village?
2. How can other resources be identified?
3. Can a functional list be made of the resources in the Kecamatan?

The group discussions were dynamic and went on for over an hour. The results were comprehensive as reported by each group secretary in the general session which

followed. A list was generated consisting of individuals with unique skills to offer, government and private service agencies, commercial enterprises, village-based groups and institutions, entertainment, sporting, and social events, physical structures and processes which might be utilized and a host of natural resources that could be exploited to improve the life of the people. The participants were aroused. They were amazed at the breadth of resources in their own community. We now talked of the necessity of identifying community learning needs through similar group discussion and connecting them to appropriate resources. Maybe even expanding the participation with this group going out and serving as village level facilitators among kampong (neighborhood) based groups. The flow of ideas raged on. We decided to call it a night, indicating that we would be seeing them again shortly to consider where we go from here. We were anxious to report our findings and success back to Jakarta! The evening ended before the tide had swelled but we left with the promise to return to continue the process of community education and development in Biringkanaya.

Back in Ujung Pandang-

In Ujung Pandang the resource persons expressed astonishment at the excitement and involvement of the villagers, and the extensive resource lists the group processes had generated. We also discussed the participants, and after rating each on participatory qualities, we derived a list of potential leaders (primarily those who had been chosen as leaders by the groups' themselves).

The next day we made the necessary visits to the Provincial officials we had seen earlier, reporting on the success of our efforts and discussing future plans to continue the process by officially organizing a technical resource team with community leadership as derived from our session the previous night. The general idea was that this team would soon be identifying and/or organizing village community learning groups to conjointly plan and enact a community learning

system along the model we had brought to catalyze events.

Upon our return to Jakarta and investigating the resource lists constructed by the groups, we found they quite readily combined into classificatory resource patterns under such headings such as human, institutional, socio-cultural, economic, natural, mass media etc. The entire process we had gone through was documented in detail,[12] later to be applied in the second project field research site with even greater success. It was also submitted for the Regional project as the basis for a methodological research design to study "unused and underutilized learning resources."[13]

A Time For Introspection: Lessons Learned

What did we learn from our experiences in participatory research? First, and foremost, we learned to modify our Western ideas about participation. We found that we were not able to readily interact with the villagers themselves, instead we were forced to deal with a mediating group consisting primarily of village and district level persons from the official authority structure. Furthermore, although these persons participated in the discussions, this would not necessarily insure that they would have a say in later decision-making process pertaining to the overall project. If experience holds, it seems more likely that the traditional Indonesian way would prevail. The consensus of the group will be taken into consideration but "outsiders" will make the actual decisions. Thus, a clear distinction must be made between participation in discussions obtaining information from villagers (research), and village level participation in planning, implementation, evaluation, and other key decision-making phases of a project. Our Indonesian project has at least managed to involve village level "representation" in the first phase, whether even this form of participation is maintained throughout the project remains to be seen.

In reality, community education programs must be developed on the basis of valid frames of reference. In the Indonesian context this means the cooperation between villagers (insiders) and government officials (outsiders). The process of conjoint participation between these two segments must be a continuous thread throughout the development process, i.e., in planning, evaluation, and decision-making processes, as well as research efforts. Such participation should facilitate a heightened sense of social consciousness and interpersonal commitment to the development process. If research and development projects are designed on a national level employing abstract theories, concepts, and categories derived apart from the subjective reality of the recipient community, such projects will continue to run the risk of mis-understanding, mis-application, and dysfunctionality within the community context itself.

A second finding was that participatory research could accomplish important process goals of: (1) sharing ideas and information between internal and external development agents; (2) creating affiliation and mutual respect among participants be they insiders (villagers) or outsiders (technical persons); (3) serving as a motivational tool by acknowledging that villager opinions count and they can indeed influence and control their own lives; (4) building commitment and social responsibility (consciousness) through active involvement; (5) serving to organize individuals, identify leadership, and establish effective patterns of problem-solving at the village level.

There should be a direct link between the prior success of process objectives and the eventual success of content objectives in the overall development process. This link may be viewed in the same way as the interdependent relationship between community education (nonformal education) and community development (national development), that is, one is a necessary means to the other, but neither is a sufficient entity in itself.

We must also recognize that the process of defining, identifying, assessing, and mobilizing community resources for use cannot be divorced from assessing community needs and mobilizing community demand. As important as the identification of learning resources may be, their functionality i.e., capacity to deliver, existing and potential usage, in relationship to meeting real community learning needs is critical.

Finally, as a result of our experiences in participatory research, we became very aware of, and sensitive to, the influences we, as outsiders, exerted on the group process. We had brought together a group that would probably have never collected to discuss ideas that may never have occurred to them. In essence, it was difficult to determine how much of the group participation really came from the group, and how much came from the group's sensitivity to what we were attempting to have them do. In other words, is "participatory research" another exercise in self, and other, delusion, a new term for "outsiders" directing community development? Certainly one can point to the increased sensitivity and intent of outsiders in encouraging the "subjective" input of villagers in the development process, bur in reality they are still alien elements entering a village domain. Questions still remain: was this participation or a put-on? Do external agents of development actually enhance their authority and dominance by creating an illusion of participatory relationships in the development process? Do they in effect mobilize for dominance rather than liberation?[14] Could it be any other way as long as "outsiders" serve as the catalyst for such events?

Although the above skeptical notes linger in our minds, we stand convinced that in order to enlist the active, creative, imaginative participation of people in identifying and solving their own problems there must be an opportunity to do this. Thus, it is imperative that outside agents of development begin conceiving of their responsibility in the development process as something other than control and dictation.

Footnotes

1. Putus-Sekolah dan Mengulang-kelas di Sekolah Dasar (Dropouts and Repeaters in primary school) by the management study group Office of Research and Development for Education and Culture, Ministry of Education and Culture, 1976: Jakarta.

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   Daroesman, R. An Analysis of the 1971 School Census Reports of Indonesia. Unpublished draft, Department of Economics, Research School of Pacific Studies, Australia National University, 1974: Canberra.

2. Rencana Pembangunan Lima Tahun kedua- 1974/1975-1978/1979 (Second Five Year Development plan), Department Penerangan RI (Department of Information), chapter 22-24: Jakarta.

3. Community Education in Indonesia - a pre-investiment study. Office of Research and Devlopment for Education and Culture, September 1975: Jakarta.

4. Kertas Strategi Pendidikan Luar Sekolah, working draft - Strategy paper for Out of School Education. Office of Research and Development for Education and Culture, August 1974: Jakarta.

5. Buchori, Mochtar. "Education for Improving Knowledge, Skills and Attitudes Pertaining to Rural Development", paper presented at SEADAG Conference on Rural Development 1975: Bandung.

   Bruner, Edward M. and Elaine C. Anthropological Perspectives on Primary Education in Indonesia. National Education Research Project, August 1970: Jakarta.

6. For a more detailed documentation of the above field observations see any of the author's four quarterly reports and several field trip reports (i.e., West Sumatera, Central Java, South Sulewesi, Irian Jaya) on file with the Office of Research and Development, Ministry of Education and Culture, Indonesia.

7. For an elaboration of this theme see Colletta, Nat "The Use of Indigenous Culture as a Medium for Development: The Indonesian Case" Prisma, Indonesian Journal of Social and Economic Affairs, Vol. I, No. 2, November 1975: Jakarta.

8. Colletta, Nat J. Project Paper for Non-Formal Education in Indonesia, USAID, May 1975: Jakarta, Indonesia.

9. Devereux, Edward C. Some Notes on the Role of Education in the Chinese Revolution, unpublished mimeo, August 1972, Cornell University: Ithaca.

10. For an illustration of the importance and potentiality of learning groups as a dynamic resource in themselves see Manan Suherman, Sumbur Belajar (learning resources), Directorate of Community Education, Ministry of Education and Culture, September 1975: Lembang.

11. Soemardi and A. Surjadi. Field Visit Report to Ujung Pandang (project site selection). Office of Educational Research and Development, September 9-12, 1975: Jakarta.

12. Colletta, Nat J. and A. Surjadi. Field Visit Report to Ujung Pandang (project site preparation-Baseline Research). Office of Educational Research and Development, September 29-October 2, 1975: Jakarta.

13. Soemitro. The Operational Study of Unused and Under-Utilized Educational Potentialities (in the development of a pro type of a community learning system), Office of Educational Research and Development, December 4, 1975: Jakarta.

14. Vanek, J. and T. Bayard. "Education towards Self-Management: An Alternative Development Strategy". International Development Review. Vol 4, 1975, pp. 17-23.